THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism.

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ITALY PREPARES THE SOVIETS.

By our Special Correspondent.

MILAN, AUGUST 1st.—The "Camera del Lavoro," or "Chamber of Labor," an institution which exists in all the cities and industrial towns of northern and central Italy, has been called "the Soviet of the future." The term is accurate, for through these institutions the proletariat of Italy will govern itself when the revolution comes.

There are seventy-four of these "chambers" in Italy, of which five are in the extremely backward section of south Italy and Sicily. Together they form the organ of discipline and action of the whole organized revolutionary Italian working-class. They are wholly of and for the proletariat, founded by the working class, maintained by it, commanded by it and obeyed by it. The government has nothing to do with them. The government is superfluous in their life. And if the revolution were to scrap all the governmental machinery to-morrow, they could take over the administration of the country in an hour. Of all these "chambers," that of Milan, which has jurisdiction over all Lombardy, is the oldest and the most highly organized.

The Chamber of Labor, as it exists in Italy, is important not because it is unique, but precisely because it is not. It is simply a higher development of a spontaneous workers' institution which has grown up in every industrial city in the world. It is the council of the delegates of the Revolutionary Socialist labor unions within a given city or district.* In France the parallel institution is the "Bourse de Travail," in North America the "City Central Federation."

It aims primarily at co-ordinating the action of the unions of the district in regard to strikes, especially in regard to the general strike, but it tends progressively, if the working-class so wishes, to assume more and more of the functions of government and administration.

When the food riots broke out in Italy on July 6th, bourgeois discipline was for the moment shattered. The people would not obey the "constituted authorities." They went to the shops in masses, offered to buy food at a fair price, and if that were refused, took what they needed. They no longer feared the soldiers or obeyed the police. They obeyed just one authority, the Chamber of Labor. When a deputy of the Chamber, with no other weapon than a red arm band, appeared before a shop which was being "looted," the people instantly became quiet. If their Chamber of Labor would take over the distribution of food, they would cease distributing it themselves. In those days, soldiers were no protection to a food shop; but a simple piece of paper from the "Camera del Lavoro," pasted in the shop window, was. In all Italy, no shop over which the chamber had assumed authority was touched. There could be no better proof than this that the movement of the people was not disorderly, but the very reverse. It was a protest against the disorder of capitalist distribution and a demand for the orderliness of revolutionary communism. And it proved that the only authority which the workers of Italy recognize in their hearts is that of their own revolutionary organization, the "Camera del Lavoro."

The Italian "Camera del Lavoro," could more properly be could the Soviet of the present.

In its organization the Milan chamber is much like the Russian Soviet. The authority rests with a General Council (Consiglio Generale) of delegates elected by the several affiliated unions on the basis of one to a hundred, and now composed of 390 members. This council is obliged to meet once a year, but in practice usually meets once a month, or oftener in times of stress. The daily conduct of business is in the hands of an Executive Committee (Commissione Esecutiva) composed of five "effective" and four "supplementary" members, elected once a year by Australian ballot by the members at large. This committee must meet at least weekly. It names the permanent secretarial staff, and executes all decisions of the general council, to which it is in every respect responsible. In effect, its powers are large. It has the right to supervise the activities of all the federated unions or "sections," not excluding their political activities. The work is generally sub-divided among the several members, two being given charge of propaganda, one or two more of political activities, while others from the "supplementary" commission form what in a club would be called the "house committee." During the food riots one member was deputed to organize the "vigilance squad" which took control of the food shops and during the crisis controlled prices. It should be added that two of the five "effective" members are usually women.

Besides this committee, there is a "commission of control" (commissione di controllo) composed of five members elected by the general council, which has the duty to examine and verify all finance and all books, not only of the chamber, but also, if it should seem necessary, of the affiliated "sections." The chairman of this commission is a simple wage-earner, who by virtue of his abilities is granted, by common consent, a permanent title to his office. There has never been a suggestion of irregularity, either intentional or careless, in the financial conduct of the chamber.

There are also commissions of adjudication appointed from time to time to decide inter-union disputes. But the Italians insist that, thanks to the industrial type of unionism prevalent in Italy, such disputes are vastly fewer than in England or America, where jealous craft unionism is the rule, and are almost never bitter.

This is the organisation of the Italian Soviet. If you like you can call the General Council the "legislative arm," the "Executive Committee" the "executive arm," and the Commission of Control together with the various arbitration commissions, the "judicial arm," of this "workers" govenment. But it is misleading to speak of it in terms of burgeois parliamentarism. The essence of the Soviet system is that it discards "checks and balances", and concentrates all three functions of government in a single organ. So considered, the Milan chamber lacks two elements of true Soviet organization, (which will doubtless be added when the need arises.) First, the executive committee is not elected by and from the body of the General Council, but by the cumbersome method of a universal ballot and for a fixed period of time. Second, the delegates to the General Council are likewise elected for a fixed period, and are not in practice recalled as they should be whenever they cease to represent the change of temper within the membership. But either the General Council or the several sections can easily alter this defect, by declaring the tenure of office indeterminate. This would result in a constant shifting in the character of the Council, accurately reflecting the changed opinions or wishes of the workers. It is this that gives the Soviet system, at its best, its marvellous flexibility and its truly democratic character.

The affiliated members, of whom there are now more than 110,000, pay 2.50 lire (2 shillings) a month to the Chamber, in addition to any dues and benefit premiums they may pay to their own industrial organizations. But it is significant that the membership card which each worker holds in his own union, emanates not from the national headquarters of his union, but from his local chamber of labor. What does this mean? It means that the supreme authority which he recognizes is not the national union, which must necessarily be governed bureaucratically, but the Soviet, which he can get his hands on and direct according to his will. He obeys it, because it obeys him. The powers of the chamber are enormous. The General Council can call a general strike at any time, and each member is pledged to obey. (This power, however, will probably in the future be subject to a referendum.)

The "People's House," (Casa del Popolo) which the Milan chamber inhabits and owns, covers half a large city block. In it is an enormous hall for workers' meetings, innumerable offices for the various district unions, the secretarial offices of the chamber itself, a bookshop with a circulating library, and many rooms for small meetings. In addition the People's House shelters several institutions which are maintained and directed jointly by the chamber, by the (Socialist) municipality of Milan, and by privately endowed societies. These are an office for free medical aid (for workers only) which is continuously open; a bureau of free legal aid for workers in all that concerns their legal relations with their employers; a public employment office; and a remarkable school, both trade and cultural, in which the workers and the members of their families, from two years of age up to seventy, may receive free of charge the education which they need.

Then, there is Room 77. It is a symbol of the spirit of revolutionary Italy. It is the room formerly occupied by the German Workers' League of Milan. Since the war broke out and the Germans were interned, it has not been used. But all its books and furniture are there. its sets of Goethe and Schiller and Heine, its membership cards and financial accounts, its pictures of Marx and Engels. Every day it is swept and aired. Not a thing is touched. It is being kept sacredly for the German comrades when they shall come back. There is no hate for the German workers in the Case del Popolo.

Before long, the economic disaster to which capitalist imperialism has brought Italy will make itself evident again. And again the chamber of labor will take the reins by natural right. But this time, perhaps, not to avert revolution as they did last month! For their true business is revolutionary, as is clearly stated in their constitution. They are, day by day, actually building the revolutionary state of the future within the cracking framework of the imperial Italian monarchy.

HIRAM K. MODERWELL.

*The Catholic unions maintain similar organization, but they are of relatively little importance.

THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

PART III. (*Continued*).

After the outrage on June 10th, provincial police were drafted into the city in great numbers, and some of them, in plain clothes, were set to dog the footsteps of the strike leaders and the Soldiers' Committee. The military forces of the committee of 1,000, which had been drilled in the barracks, and even in the churches, were mobilised, and all soldiers were confined to barracks. Intoxicating drinks were liberally supplied to the special police.

Whilst the old police were in charge, the Chief Constable had advertised in vain for cases of intimidation. There was no need to advertise now! In one case, on June 11th, a workman, seeing a special constable displaying his baton, let fall some remark, whereupon the special struck him on the head with his baton. The bystanders jostled the constable: two returned soldiers, who were on strike, defended the constable. A certain Captain Drewry drove up in a motor, and a special constable who was with him, fired a gun into the crowd. As it happened, the person hit was the special constable who had been the original aggressor. The two returned soldiers jumped into the car, and insisted that it be driven to the police-station, but the officer there refused to take the names and addresses of the occupants of the car. Between 1.30 and 4 a.m. on June 16th, some of the special police men broke into houses, demanding money with menaces. They were not punished, but a woman who hooted a special was arrested and made to find $2,000 bail.

ARREST OF STRIKE LEADERS.

But something more important happened in the small hours of June 17th. The Rev. Wm. Ivens, the Editor of the *Western Labour News*, and six strike leaders, Messrs. Queen, Heaps, Russell, Bray and Armstrong, of the Strike Committee, were arrested at their homes and taken away to Stoney Mountain. Later in the morning, ten men, who happened to be standing together in Postage Avenue, were swept up by a large force of police, and only released, with advice to return to work on giving bail for $2,000 and two securities of $1,000 dollars.

Canon Scott, a popular soldier parson, who had come from Quebec to help the strikers, was ordered by his superiors to leave Winnipeg by a certain train, on to which he was ushered by Army officers.

The six men who had first been arrested were not of Canadian, but of British birth. Five others of foreign birth were arrested shortly afterwards on the same charge, which included the publication of the article on the special police, not of June 10th, which we have quoted. None of the five foreigners had had anything whatever to do with the strike. Charilinoff had been arrested and released some time before and had since taken no part in political affairs. Almasoff was a University student taking courses in economics and philosophy, and was sitting at the examinations three days before his arrest. Berenezat and Oscar Schappellrei were returned soldiers. Blumenberg had been expelled from the Socialist Party of Canada five months before, as not being sufficiently "orthodox" and "scientific."

Obviously the five foreigners had been arrested to excite prejudice and to make it appear that the strike had been fomented by aliens. The committee of 1,000 was running a big anti-alien campaign. As a matter of fact the committee itself was inclined to be narrow-mindedly prejudiced against foreigners; whilst the employers were importing negro porters from America to work as dining and sleeping car attendants, and employing as many foreign strike breakers as they could get. They were also enrolling foreigners in the new special police force. In such matters the employing class is never scrupulous. The Canadian Government in the Parliament at Ottawa had defeated a motion to prevent the immigration of enemy aliens, but on June 6th it introduced an Immigration Bill depriving all persons of British and foreign birth of all civil and judicial rights in Canada. This measure, affecting two million people, was put through both Houses without debate.

Nivas first announced that a Board was proceeding from Ottawa to Stoney Mountain to hear the charges against the eleven. A. J. Andrews, K.C., acting as public prosecutor (the same Andrews who had appeared before the Winnipeg City Council as representative of the committee of 1,000), stated that this Board had the power to deport the prisoners immediately and without trial. He said that bail would not be granted if he could prevent it. Evidently this announcement caused too much indignation, for later Mr. Andrews announced that in regard to the six British subjects, "as representing the Department of Justice . . . . I have decided to postpone any proceedings for their deportation until the charges against them have been heard." The six British men were then released on bail, but the foreigners were kept in prison.

On June 19th, W. A. Pritchard, organiser of "the One Big Union," was arrested in a railway train; Mrs. Armstrong, the women's strike leader, was also arrested. The police raided the Labour Temple and published the text of some letters they found there, written by R. B. Russell, in which he said: "I have just got in a shipment of Bolsheviki funds, and we have pretty nearly got control of the Trades and Labour Council." Russell's friends interpreted "we" as meaning the Socialist Party, and "Bolsheviki" as a colloquial reference to the left wing of the Labour movement. Probably they were right; but in any case, it must be observed that there is nothing illegal in accepting money for a lawful purpose from Russia: the British Government has made no formal declaration of war on Russia! There is nothing morally wrong in accepting assistance from the Workers' Government of Russia to promote the interests of the workers in other countries. But the trivial letters were all that the police found worth mentioning at the Labour Temple.

All this time the strike continued, constantly gaining new adherents throughout Canada.

VOLUNTEER BLACKLEGS GROW WEARY.

The volunteers who had enrolled under the committee of 1,000 were dissatisfied. In the *Winnipeg Telegram* of June 20th appeared an article of complaint:—

"After making a theatrical display—which is only revealed as theatrical because of the farcical aftermath — after arresting the ringleaders in the attempted rebellion and spiriting them away to the penitentiary, the Government has entered into negotiations with the very men that it accused of some of the most serious crimes of which anyone could be guilty—negotiations by which six of them are given their liberty on paltry bail, and on their personal undertaking not TO INDULGE IN ANY FURTHER UNLAWFUL CONDUCT.

"This is such a pitiable farce, such a miserable fiasco, that one is in doubt whether to curse or to laugh at it.

"*There is no doubt whatever how those citizens that have been working like slaves as private soldiers in barracks in this almost insufferable weather, those that are doing the work of special policemen in a broiling sun, those who spend their days and nights in a fire hall, and those who render other public services that they should not be expected to do in a well-ordered country, feel about this betrayal of their interests.* . . .

"*For five DREARY weeks they have endured hardship, annoyance, monetary loss and loss of the right to associate with their families, that they might render public service for which they could never adequately be compensated.* . . .

"*There is a tendency to-day for every man to turn from his self-appointed task in disgust.* He feels that he has been betrayed by the politicians, and he asks himself why he should be true to men who are untrue to him.

"This is a natural attitude—but it is an attitude that ought to be avoided. Because a Government, for selfish reasons, desires to hasten the end of this strike by a deal rather than by a decision, furnishes no adequate reason why private individuals, who have made enormous sacrifices, should permit their good work of five long weeks to go for nought in a quite natural passion of disgust. . . .

"It is nothing common or ordinary that the organisations of patriotic citizens have accomplished up-to-date. Therefore, to be true to their record, they should continue to stand steadfast and refuse now to adopt a common, ordinary, or expected course.

"*They, not the authorities, have won this strike. Let them, therefore, resolve that they, and not the authorities, shall dictate the terms of peace.*

"*Let them stick to their posts; let every one of them who have any influence with an employer of labour bring every pressure to bear to compel those unlawfully on strike to return to their work without obtaining any advantage from their unlawful adventure.*

This can readily be accomplished if the Citizens' Committee, the volunteer soldiers, the volunteer firemen and other volunteers engaged in public service will take a new resolution from this betrayal, and adopt a course that will convince the authorities that even 'good politics' will make it necessary in this case to get back into line with sound public opinion by the shortest route available—even though that short route should involve the turning of another handspring, at which the authorities of to-day have developed an expertness that is as inimitable as it is undignified.

"Let our motto be "Carry On!" "

The threats made by militant Capitalism in this article were soon followed by militant action.

DEMOBILISED SOLDIERS ATTACKED BY MOUNTED POLICE AND MILITARY.

The Demobilised Soldiers' "Parliament" meeting daily to discuss these events decided to March in silent procession through the city on June 21st. They invited their wives and children to join them, but asked the other strikers to keep away. The Mayor issued a proclamation that morning: "Any women taking part in a parade do so at their own risk." No other attempt was made to stop the procession, but here is the account of what happened of the action taken by the new mounted police and military, which appeared in the *Western Labour News*:—

"On Saturday, about 2.30 p.m., just the time when the parade was scheduled to start, some 50 mounted men swinging baseball bats rode down Main St. Half were red-coated R.N.W.M.P., the others wore khaki. They quickened pace as they passed the Union Bank. The crowd opened, let them through and closed in behind them. They turned and charged through the crowd again, greeted by hisses, boos, and some stones. There were two riderless horses with the squad when it emerged and galloped up Main St. The men in khaki disappeared at this juncture, but the red-coats reined their horses and reformed opposite the old post office.

SHOOTING TO KILL.

"Then, with revolvers drawn, they galloped down Main St., turned, and charged right into the crowd on William Avenue, firing as they charged. One man, standing on the sidewalk, thought the mounties were firing blank cartridges until a spectator standing beside him dropped with a bullet through his breast. Another standing nearby was shot through the head. We have no exact information about the total number of casualties, but there were not less than thirty. The crowd dispersed as quickly as possible when the shooting began.

SOME CITIZENS APPLAUD MAN-KILLERS.

"When the mounties rode back to the corner of Portage and Main, after the fray, at least two of them were twirling their reeking tubes high in the air in orthodox Deadwood Dick style. Some individuals, apparently opposed to the strike, applauded the man-killers as they rode by.

SPECIAL POLICE APPEAR.

"Lines of special police, swinging their big clubs, were then thrown across Main St. and the intersecting thoroughfares. Dismounted red-coats lined up across Portage and Main declaring the city under military control. Khaki-clad men with rifles were stationed on the street corners.

(*Continued on next Page*)

THE WINNIPEG SOVIET.

Continued.

PUBLIC MEETINGS ABANDONED.

"There were no open-air meetings on Saturday night, but the central strike committee met as usual and resolved to 'carry on'' with redoubled vigour. If the city remains under military control meetings will likely be held outside the city limits.

SOLDIER-STRIKERS INCENSED.

"Indignation at the action of the authorities was forcibly expressed by returned men. They feel that the prevention of the parade was an infringement of the human rights they have fought to defend, and they are especially incensed by the murderous assault of the mounties upon an unarmed crowd. One man, recently returned, said: 'They treated us worse than we ever treated Fritzy.' "

The Mayor afterwards admitted that firearms were used previous to the reading of the Riot Act, but not by the police.

It was rumoured that there would be another procession.

On Monday, June 23rd, at about one o'clock, the R.N.W.P. and soldiers with rifles and machine guns on motor lorries, again assembled in Main Street, but no one was bold enough to come out to meet them.

"WESTERN LABOUR NEWS" SUPPRESSED.

On June 23rd the *Western Labour News* was suppressed by means of a letter to the printers from A. J. Andrews, the agent of the committee of 1,000, now acting as agent of the Department of Justice:—

GENTLEMEN,—

Certain numbers of the *Winnipeg Western Labour News*, special strike edition, have contained objectionable matter in that it is seditious, inflammatory and inciting to riot, and this publication must be discontinued. No more issues of this publication must be printed or circulated.

Signed, yours truly,
ALFRED J. ANDREWS.
Agent, Department of Justice.

Rev. Wm. Ivens, the imprisoned editor, was a Methodist Minister, was expelled from the Ministry after his arrest. His place as editor of the *Western Labcur News* had been taken by J. S. Woodsworth, who had resigned from the same Ministry in June, 1918, because of his opposition to the war and the curtailment of civil liberties.

Shortly after the receipt of the letter suppressing the paper, Woodsworth was also arrested.

The *Western Labour News* promptly became the *Western Star*, and came out next day, June 24th, as usual, but half its size.

STRIKE CALLED OFF.

On June 25th the *Western Star* had given place to the *Enlightener*, its front page covered by this notice:—

GENERAL SYMPATHETIC STRIKE CALLED OFF

For Thursday at 11 a.m.

Conditions: The Provincial Government have appointed a Commission to make a thorough investigation regarding re-instatement of workers.

The Strike Committee had capitulated to the violence and intimidation of Militant Capitalism.

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

LIFE IN PETROGRAD IN 1919.

A Russian soldier sent to Russia from France in exchange for a Frenchman, gives the following description of life in Petrograd at the end of May: —

I have been in Russia for three days. The voyage, instead of lasting eight days, as that brave citizen Bouison promised, lasted 35 days. Pichon simply hunted us out of France to Finland just when there was war between her and Russia. And Finland kept us prisoners on board a French boat until she was able to obtain a double quantity of counter-revolutionaries in exchange for us. This is the way that the French Government has treated certain Russians, who are not even sentenced to expulsion; among them there are about 40 children under age. But what is even more "gracious" is the fate of a thousand Russian soldiers who composed part of our convoy. These soldiers, who fought for France, for right and liberty, after so many sufferings, find themselves still in the black hands of the White Finns, who allowed only the civilians of the convoy to leave. They still keep the soldiers, and every day Finland becomes more exacting and demands quite impossible things in exchange for these soldiers. Further, I greatly fear that the Commander of the boat and the chief escort captain will be tempted to get rid of this prolonged and boring mission by some method of provocation, which may end for our soldiers in a bath of blood. In the grandiose tragedy of the time in which we live, the fate of 1,000 soldiers is evidently not of much account, but in this little fact the working-class can find a good lesson, if the Socialists take the trouble to make it generally known.

Everything is so original here that it would take a book to explain all that I have seen in the last three days since my arrival.

All whom I have seen have absolute faith in the power of the régime and look upon the many events with perfect serenity. The reverses on the different fronts of the immense battle that is being waged here, do not trouble anybody, and have not stopped the feverish march of the internal life of the country. All these reverses are due to the betrayal by a few officers, and to some local misfortunes. The men in power are absolutely certain of re-establishing the military situation on the Petrograd front. And during the three days that I have been here I actually see the situation is improving. One has to bear in mind that the war is, to a certain extent, guerilla warfare, the fronts are neither stable nor continuous, and audacious, sudden attacks and individual betrayals, have much less serious results. Here is an example: A White regiment of Finns and Esthonians succeeded in pushing its way through a forest to Gatchino, where it found some patrols. It burnt the bridges, killed some men and women, and departed hastily. The telegraph communicated to the whole world the sensational news that the Whites had occupied Gatchino. Then a sufficiently armed force was sent from here, which even chased the Whites from their front position, and the situation was not only re-established, but improved. That is only by way of an example of what happens. On the other hand people are quite accustomed to see reverses at first on all the new fronts, until the day when the distances of Russia and her poor means of communication permit them to concentrate on this new front sufficient forces, and especially trusted forces, or, as they are called here, Communist regiments. Because you must remember one essential feature of our military organisation: the regiments where we have a sufficient number of Communist officers and men are really of remarkable strength. The regiments where the non-Communist elements and the old officers predominate, are not of much military value by themselves. The army, like everything else here, is in process of formation and in a constant state of being improved. The strength of the Soviet Régime is just in that state of elasticity, in that infinite capacity to transform itself, in improving and in awakening always new forces in the working masses.

Returning to the military situation, you know, probably through the newspapers, that there are sufficient Communist troops upon the Ural front. For the last month they have been repulsing Koltchak's armies, and we are once more in Orenburg and near Ufa, whose capture we await momentarily. We are masters of the situation in the Ukraine. We are only threatened on the Finnish and Esthonian fronts, and Trepeal. These events here are regarded with perfect serenity.

I assisted at the departure for the front of a regiment composed entirely (3,000) of pupils from our military schools, officers and soldiers. The authorities looked at them with an almost indifferent calmness. As for me, I was moved and overcome, seeing this regiment of Communists, composed of our Petrograd workers, marching past with its cavalry, artillery, convoy, ambulance, etc., to the tune of revolutionary songs. You must come here to see.

What strikes you in the streets here is that crowd, which is almost entirely composed of working people and the sight of their children, all shod, dressed, nourished and educated, as nowhere else in the world, for here everything is for them. The youth of the workers *is truly happy here.*

Here are a few words on provisioning in Petrograd. All the dwelling houses have their committees, which are entrusted with feeding the tenants. It is through them that the bread is distributed and the various foods by means of cards, as well as the clothing, heating, etc. In fact, more than 400,000 inhabitants receive meals (once a day) in the communal restaurants, with permission to take their meals home with them. The applicants are allocated in advance to the restaurants, where the prices are fixed in advance at 6 roubles (5.22 to take the meal away). At the present rate of exchange six roubles is worth two francs. They distribute 1 lb. of black bread a day per head, 2 lbs. to workmen, 2½ lbs. to soldiers. Last year at the same period the ration received was only ½ lb. Therefore bread is not lacking. The Commune of the North *has reserves until the harvest*, if the military events do not recall too large a number of soldiers here. In these restaurants the meals, as well as the bread, are uniform for the whole of the Commune of the North: soup with meat, viands and vegetables, and a cup of tea. The children receive a hot meal free at their schools, crèches, children's gardens, etc. But as regards all the other products, they are distributed very rarely in absolutely insufficient quantities (except milk, which is given to the children up to three years of age and to invalids).

Many products are absolutely lacking. You have to wait your turn for clothing, footwear, or utensils, two, three or four months, and then you pay very reasonable prices. But as soon as you apply to the free and clandestine traders, you pay fabulous prices, surpassing all imagination.

The salaries and appointments are scheduled, the minimum is 800 roubles a month, the maximum 2,400 roubles, tariffs absolutely insufficient for the intellectuals, and for all the officials of the Soviets, from which an aggravation of lack of nourishment results. I saw numbers of those in high places, they are famished, but I have the impression that they do not even notice it in the whirl of formidable events.

The whole situation is dominated by the military intervention. All these counter-revolutionary armies could not hold out eight days without the help of the Allies, but the latter cause fresh fronts to spring up every day. Thus it is that they have forced Finland, in exchange for its independence, to declare an open war after a non-official war, although it is as bloody.

After superhuman efforts the economic life of the Northern Commune (Petrograd and a few neighbouring departments) has been organised, to a certain extent; for a few months *most of our factories* have been working, the transport on the Neva has been very active. And now the Esthonians and Finns, paid, nourished and supported by the Allies, begin to approach Petrograd; the workmen are being mobilised by closing a number of factories, by upsetting all the provisioning, transport, calculations, etc. And especially it is necessary to withdraw a quantity of men, vital for the economic life, to throw them on to the front as commissaries, propagandists and so forth. Many peasants are withdrawn from their work just when it is most urgently needed. And all this in a ruined country, at the time of a radical transformation. And after all this they will say that the Soviets are not capable of organising life!

Dear friends, the campaign of the Socialists and Syndicalists against the intervention of the Allies, has forced the latter to give up open intervention. It is time to put in all seriousness before the workers the question of indirect intervention. Russia has been at war for five years; for 20 months the Soviets have been bled white by the Allies, whilst they have been starved as even Germany never was. It is evident that you can no longer protest against intervention by appealing to the right of the peoples to control their own destinies, or from reasons half patriotic, half sentimental. Now or never one must appeal to the good traditions of the workers.

Received from "The People's Russian Information Bureau".

EAST LONDON WORKERS' COMMITTEE
Demonstration in Trafalgar Square
SUNDAY, AUG. 24th, at 3 p.m.
to demand the release of W.F. Watson, who is serving 6 months in prison for sedition.
Speakers: H. Pollitt, Boiler Makers'; V. Beacham, N.A.H. & S.P.; R. M. Fox, M. Kavanagh, Hairdressers'; D. Ramsay, A.S.E.; W. Ponder, N.A.F.T.A. and others.

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THE TREACHERY OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

LLOYD GEORGE REVEALS THAT IT URGED RETENTION OF BRITISH TROOPS IN CAUCASUS

On August 18th, Lloyd George, in the House of Commons, said:—

"We have been urged to withdraw troops, and it is said that the withdrawal of troops and demobilisation are the only methods to secure immediate reduction: but the other day I was amazed to get a letter from the International Labour Conference, sitting at Lucerne, which represented Socialists of all ranks. What was their suggestion? Was it that we should demobilise; was it that we should reduce our armaments; was it that we should clear out from countries which were not our own and leave the people to self-determination? Not at all. It was a resolution angrily complaining that British troops were withdrawing from the Caucasus. We have a division and a half there, and it is costing us millions. Speaking roughly, I should not be a bit surprised if it costs us about £30,000,000 a year, with shipping and everything else. America appeals to us not to withdraw, the International Socialists appeal to us not to withdraw."

As a matter of fact the Second International is reported by Reuter to have passed the following resolution:—

"The International Conference, shocked at the renewed massacre of the Armenian population, asserts the necessity of putting an end to this outrage against humanity, and requests that the British Army of Occupation be not withdrawn, and that it may remain until its withdrawal has been finally decided upon by the League of Nations."

So this is the work to which the Second International is lending itself—a pretty conspiracy indeed! A scandalous piece of treachery!

And why are British troops to remain in the Caucasus? "To protect the Armenians." Oh the sickening hypocrisy of it! The Armenians would do well enough were there no oil wells at Baku, and had the workers of Russia not set up a Communist Government there.

The official Labour and Socialist movements of France and Britain have been demonstrating against the Russian intervention. They responded tardily to the appeal of the Italians and to the pressure of the French and British rank and file, and yet in face of this the British and French delegates have actually gone to Berne and have there adopted resolutions asking the British Government to retain the troops in the Caucasus.

Let us look a little more closely into the matter. Not only are there precious oil wells at Baku, for lack of which Soviet Russia is suffering greatly, not only does the Caucasus provide a base for controlling the Caspian Sea, the Sea of Azof, and the Black Sea, a vantage point for bombarding and blockading the communists and for cutting them off from the southern seaboard of Russia, but British troops in the Caucasus can lend valuable aid to General Denikin, the most formidable and successful enemy of the Workers' Republic. A wireless Press telegram reports a message from Moscow that:

"A British General has addressed a Note to the various Caucasian Governments demanding that their troops shall retire southwards, and that all Caucasian Governments shall abstain from any aggressive action against Denikin's Volunteer Army, and shall assist General Denikin at least by sending supplies. The non-fulfilment of this demand will entail the loss of British sympathy."

La Feuille, July 22nd, published this statement issued by the Circassion Press Bureau of July 11th:—

"Throughout the Caucasus a grave struggle between Denikin and the North Caucasian Republic is the order of the day. His Army is composed in great part of officers of the old régime. He is abundantly supplied by the Entente with arms, war material and munitions. A lively agitation is spreading amongst the Caucasian population. The Circassian Government has addressed a strong protest to the Allied representatives. It was read in the Parliament by M. Kozof, the premier, in the following terms:—

During the whole period of our government we have taken part neither for nor against Russia. We have given assistance to all those who sought a refuge with us. Russia, on the word of Russians themselves, can only nourish feelings of gratitude towards us.

We had the right to expect that Denikin's Army of volunteers would entertain no aggressive designs towards us. We were deceived.

We do not want war. We have made many concessions. General Denikin demands not only that we should recognise his authority, but requires us to furnish him with troops. The people of Daghestan, for example, have been asked to supply 3 regiments of cavalry, 8 of infantry, and 3 squadrons of artillery, all fully equipped.

"The Premier concluded by declaring that all the Caucasian people are agreed that they must fight to the end against the common enemy. The declaration of war, followed by mobilisation of all men between the ages of 18 and 40, has been notified to the Allies' representative in the Caucasus who, on his side, has asked the forces of the Circassian Republic to remain on the defensive.

"This new conquest of the Caucasus undertaken by the "black general"—for so Denikin is generally called—has put all the other Caucasian Republics in a ferment—Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan. All strongly protest against the invasion of Denikin's volunteers."

And yet, in face of this, we find the leaders of the workers in this country asking for British troops to be retained to assist Denikin against the Caucasian people! It was against the atrocities perpetrated on the Hungarian Communists and the overthrow of the Workers' Republic there that they should have been protesting.

What are the I.L.P. delegates about, those one-time comrades of Keir Hardie, that they are making no protest against this treacherous request to continue the intervention?

Is it possible that they are such fools as not to know what it means. After all their study of international relations and the rapacities of British foreign policy under the tuition of the U.D.C.? Have they forgotten the history of British diplomacy in Egypt and Persia, a further shameful chapter of which is even now being prepared?

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE BETRAYAL.

J. H. Thomas, M.P., and T. C. Cramp, of the N.U.R., Robert Smillie, W. Brace, M.P., and Frank Hodges of the Miners, J. Sexton, M.P., Harry Gosling and Robert Williams of the Transport Workers' Federation, decided to defy the decision of the Triple Alliance Conference and to stop the ballot until after another conference had been held. They issued the following resolution to the Press:—

"This joint meeting of the three Executive Committees, bearing in mind the changed circumstances which have arisen since the Caxton Hall Conference and the proposals of the Triple Alliance having been further considered by the Government and the House of Commons, recommends that the decision of the Caxton Hall Conference to ascertain the views of the respective memberships on the question of direct action to secure the abolition of conscription, the discontinuance of military intervention in Russia, and in trade union disputes at home, shall meanwhile be postponed, and accordingly recommends that a further full delegate conference be summoned to which a report of the whole proceedings shall be submitted."

What are the "changed circumstances" referred to in the resolution? What is the result of the "further consideration" given by the Government and the House of Commons to the questions at issue? The position of Thomas, Brace, Sexton and Gosling is well known; they are opposed to direct action, Brace and Sexton have openly fought it; but where do Cramp, Smillie, Hodges, and Williams stand? They have been put into office by the advance guard of their unions: Smillie and Williams especially have been given the enthusiastic confidence of large numbers of revolutionary Socialists. What is their explanation of this? One would have thought it impossible for the other Members of the Committee to set aside the decision of the Conference without their agreement. But when is the delegate conference to be held?

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

SPY PLOTS: A WARNING.

The Home Office is using its secret police service actively in sinister ways. On August 11th a man called Maurice Facey, of the Soldiers' Sailors' and Airmens' Union, was arrested: he was released next day: it is said through the intervention of Major Rawlinson: Who is Major Rawlinson? We remember that when ex-Inspector Syme was charged a while ago he was released on giving an undertaking to Major Rawlinson. Evidently Major Rawlinson is connected with the police.

The Globe published a sensational story of documents it alleged to have been found at 7, Featherstone Buildings, where the S.S.A.U. and the London Workers' Committee have offices, and which was raided ostensibly in connection with Facey's arrest. One of these documents was supposed to contain plans for the coming revolution, including the absurd statement that "Women and children of the Bourgeoisie will be put to the sword."

The Globe ought to produce its authority for that quotation. Every communist knows that no communist has written that; we do not believe the alleged document exists, but, if it does, it is either the work of a lunatic, or was planted at Featherstone Buildings by the opposition.

As for the editor of this paper, the Home Office has issued a fable in which she is said to have been given a box. Like the modern Pandora, she is presumably supposed to have released from it, not in this case all the evils, but Bolshevism, which is Socialism in a hurry; the only thing capitalism fears.

We learn that our Norwegian comrades of the Socialist daily, *Social Demokraten*, are bringing an action against another Christiania paper, *Middagsavisen*, for stating that the *Social Demokraten* was paid with Russian money. The same fear of the Russian Communists is felt in all capitalist countries.

The Labour Party's official news service has sent out the following paragraph:—

"The Home Secretary admitted that Watson gave information from time to time about breaches of the law actually committed or planned, such as the fomenting of strikes in munition works, incitements to disorder, etc., and was paid small sums in respect of each piece of information found to be of value to the police. It is extraordinary to find the Government admitting that a man who has been one of the most disturbing personal influences in industry during the past few years was at the same time one of the Government's paid informers."

It should be noticed that the aristocrats of the Labour world have accepted unreservedly the charge made by a capitalist Government against a working man it has imprisoned without waiting to give him an opportunity to defend himself.

The reference to Watson as "one of the most disturbing personal influences in industry" aptly reveals the standpoint of those smug officials who, having themselves climbed out of the work-shop, desire that those left behind should be resigned to the capitalist system, and live in relations of cordial amity with the capitalist.

When Watson is released he will doubtless reply to the charges, and we understand that the London Workers' Committee, of which he was chairman, will also have a statement to make. Until that time we consider the affair should remain in abeyance.

We wish, however, to warn our readers that Scotland Yard now sends out Press bulletins and holds conversations with the Press, and that we shall probably see an epidemic of spies and spy stories.

The only way to meet these tactics, comrades, is to stand firmly by our principles, and to continue our work, refusing to allow our energies to be diverted by the tactics of our opponents. Scotland Yard undoubtedly sends its spies into the movement and is trying to induce people in the movement to be its spies. Scotland Yard will also try to discredit honest rebels.

LIFE UNDER BELA KUN'S SOVIET GOVERNMENT.

By ALICE RIGG HUNT.

The following vivid account of the progress made by the Hungarian Soviet Government during the short period of two months must make every open-minded person who reads it regret that the Communist system has been overthrown by enemies from without. We believe that the success of reaction is merely temporary. In Russia much more has been accomplished, and the Communist impetus in Hungary was undoubtedly generated in Russia. It would be the greatest tragedy of history if the Russian Soviet Government should also fall a victim to the attack of Allied Capitalism.

Budapest, Hungary, May 31st.—To one who has been in Budapest before the Communist rule the city appears to have undergone little change on the surface. To be sure the stores are all closed pending their organisation into socialised units, there is no alcohol for sale anywhere, and the "chic" population formerly attracted to the city by its famous racecourse is conspicuous by its absence, because the course has been turned into an experimental agricultural station worked by "intellectuals" One gets the impression that he has landed in a New England town on a Sunday and that the people strolling as usual along the bank of the Danube are good Puritans, far from the madding crowd, and still further from any suggestion of Red Guards or Red Terrors, "Elftach" (comrade) is the greeting you get from the tall Red Guards at the Hungarian side of the little bridge at Bruck, and the same word is addressed to you, with an attentive questioning inflection, by the porter at the hotel (who refuses your tip, saying he earns a good salary), by the street-car conductor, or by the Red Guard at the entrance of Bela Kun's office. If you are not a particularly observant person, you do not notice the red flags floating from the Imperial Palace, or the red bunting decorating the pillars of the grand hotel Hungaria, now the Soviet House, where all the People's Commissaries and their families live.

Bela Kun says that he believes it absolutely necessary to have a show of force to support the Government until Communism is thoroughly established, but there are fewer soldiers in the streets than in Vienna, and entrance to the Soviet House is far simpler than showing credentials at the Hotel de Crillon in Paris, where the American Commission to negotiate Peace resides, or the Astoria, where I went to one of Lord Robert Cecil's interviews, to say nothing of approaching within a block of Clemenceau's residence. All members of the Red Guard are proletarians, as only Trade Union members can be admitted to the Army. Most of the People's Commissaries are young "intellectuals," tried in the dangerous labour of Communist and Socialist teaching under a reactionary Imperial Government. To one used to the formulas and evasions of Peace Conference "interviews," the hours spent with these Commissaries, discussing frankly work already accomplished in two months and hopes and problems of the immediate future, are a distinct surprise. Observation of these same Commissaries, from the vantage point of residence in the Soviet House, shows them to be working all hours of the day and night, and although not one pretends that the Government is democratic (it is a dictatorship which they believe to be necessary during the transition period) the dining room of the Soviet House is filled with proletarians (chauffeurs, labourers, etc.) discussing questions of government with the Commissaries and eating the same food, which is no more than every other workman in Hungary is allowed to have.

The theatres and operas are running as usual, except that the performances begin at five o'clock in the afternoon and end at 8.30, to allow the workers to go directly from their employment to their amusement, and to get them home early at night. Ninety per cent. of the seats at the socialised theatres and at the opera can be obtained only by members of Trade Unions, while the other ten per cent. are for sale at higher rates for the bourgeoisie. The actors are paid by the Government, which considers them among the most useful workers.

Bela Vago, the President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, states that crime has noticeably decreased since alcoholism was abolished, and that the organisation of local tribunals is very nearly completed. No lawyers are allowed in these courts, the forty-eight judges (who are elected by local Soviets) sitting in rotation, with four on the bench serving at the same time. The judges are paid the wage of specialists, which is equivalent to that received by the highest paid manual labourer, and so far there are neither women judges nor a women's court. Since the Communist revolution there have been only two cases of capital punishment, both of which were for counter-revolutionary activity. At the time of the establishment of this court there were five hundred libel suits pending. The Revolutionary Tribunal asked that unnecessary cases be withdrawn; and gave warning that plaintiffs found to have unsubstantial cases would be fined for obstructing the business of the court. In less than two days four hundred and sixty of the libel cases were withdrawn.

Shortly after their establishment the Revolutionary Tribunals took hostages from the bourgeoisie, as safeguards against counter-revolutionary activities; but although the opposition continued, the hostages were released. The public can obtain entrance to the court room, by permit from the President, and the case being tried the day I was present was that of an ex-officer accused of harsh treatment of working-men in the performance of his duties. The case took several hours, with witnesses for and against the accused; but the verdict was that while the accused might have been guilty, it would not be just to convict him for what he did in the performance of his duties as an officer in the old Austro-Hungarian Army, because he was then the victim of the old régime and psychology, and therefore could not be held responsible for indignities perpetrated against working men.

The three sources of discontent with the new order seem to spring from the wealthy bourgeois, the women belonging to the professional and small shop-keeping classes in the cities who find it difficult to obtain food without standing long hours in queues, and the peasants in the provinces who have all the food they need and dislike to accept the money printed by the new government.

Of these three groups the most active seem to be the women who are influenced by the priests The peasants are more or less inarticulate except for their withholding of food. The wealthy bourgeois, according to a prominent ex-stateman with whom I had a three hours' talk, are either thoroughly disorganized, or are awaiting for the government to fall under the weighty problems of food distribution. This ex-statesman, whose name is known throughout the world as recently one of the Hungary's most powerful citizens

Continued on Page 1442.

AN APPEAL FROM KLARA ZETKIN.

BERNE, August 18th.

Clara Zetkin, next to Rosa Luxemburg the most active woman anti-militarist among the German Socialists, has sent out the following appeal:—

APPEAL TO THE SOCIALIST WOMEN OF ALL LANDS.

COMRADES!

The difficulties of communication, and the like, which, as an accompaniment of the war, made communication between the women of the Socialist movement in various lands difficult or impossible, are not yet entirely past. But already travel is easier, and the time seems to be near when nothing will further hinder the unhampered meeting of the comrades of the various countries.

Comrades, sisters, we must be prepared to utilise the situation. The old relations must be strengthened, new and still firmer bonds must be created between the women of the Socialist movement of all countries. More work, more struggle for the realisation of Socialism must be our solution. Unity of work and struggle! Events call to us. The world-revolution of the proletariat has begun. Ceaselessly it continues its progress. To us women it brings social emancipation, but it also has need of us. Let us group ourselves, more consciously, more resolutely, and more eager for sacrifice than ever before, around the red banner.

Comrades, a meeting of the leading women of the Socialist movement in all lands is a demonstrable necessity. The international conference, so long postponed under pressure of external events, must soon be held. The proposals in regard to the order of the day have for a long time been known to you. In view of the split in the camp of international Socialism, I do not consider it advisable to hold the international women's conference in connection with a general Socialist congress. It must be independent, taking its stand firmly on the ground of international Socialism. As the country for the conference I propose Switzerland, and the time, the end of September or the beginning of October. I beg that proposals as to the time and place be sent to me soon.

Comrades, sisters, prove that the Women's Socialist International lives and is at work, that it will act with vigour and determination. Forward to work and struggle! Long live international Socialism!

With Socialist greetings

(*Signed*), KLARA ZETKIN,
International Secretary, Women's
International Socialist League.

SWISS SOCIALIST PARTY JOINS THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The Swiss Socialist Party, in a special congress on August 17th, decided by 318 votes to 147 to join the Third International. Ramsay MacDonald's recent visit to combat this tendency has therefore proved unavailing.

LIFE UNDER BELA KUN'S SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Continued from page 1441.

and politicians, told me that while his house was visited by Red Guards immediately after the Communist coup in March, no member of his family was harmed, and all property seized by the state was preserved. This gentleman's attitude towards the new government can be expressed in the one sentence by which he answered my query as to his opinion of Bela Kun. "They are all robbers and nothing but common Jews," he said. This gentleman applied the same terms to Karolyi for his part in handing over the government to the Soviets. This would appear to express the sum total of the bourgeois opposition, as there is no sign of their having any active organization, and as the work of disarming them was very thoroughly carried out by the Red Guard.

The government met the discontent of the women by holding twelve public mass-meetings especially for them at which Bela Kun and the other Commssaries explained the situation. The speakers stated that under the old government, the proletarians had never enough to eat, but that in spite of the Entente blockade, Hungary, was now better fed than any country in central Europe. It was a question of fuel for the engines to bring the food to the cities, and of forcing the peasants to release the food, by denying them agricultural implements, and other necessities for the harvest. Factories were being socialized, and the coal supply of small inefficient plants concentrated in the large flower mills which were kept running twenty-four hours a day. Food depots in each district would shortly be opened with a system of cards giving preference to manual workers, and women and children, and designating just where each family could obtain supplies. There was no thought of starving the bourgeoisie, but they would be the last to be fed. Commissary Hamburger of the agricultural department told the women that already twelve million acres of unproductive land were under cultivation by the Co-operative Societies, and that village selling centres were also being organized to facilitate the shipment of food to the cities.

At a meeting of the Budapest Soviet the food Commissary reproved the members who shouted that food was not being distributed adequately by stating that the proletarians were doing as much smuggling of food from the country as the bourgeois, and that they must not expect the government to accomplish more than any other country in Europe had been able to bring about, namely the immediate control of an adequate food supply. Upon his statement that he had been working in the Socialist movement for twenty-five years, many of the young soldier members shouted: "that is long enough to make you a bourgeois." The twenty women members of the Soviet took little part in the shouts of protest coming from the soldier element among the members, sixty-five per cent of whom are proletarians.

The traveller in Hungary is struck with the vast number of freight cars standing idle and the spasmodic train service. Wood is the only fuel available as the Czechs and Roumanians occupy Hungary's Coal areas. Nobody knows just when a wood-burning engine will be available. The result is that not only all seats and corridors inside the trains are filled to overflowing, but the peasants, women as well as men, climb up to the top of the cars, and there sit clinging to their huge bundles of food, and probably praying that the wooden sparks from the engine will not set them on fire. Hundreds of peasants travel all night and all day in this way.

The organization of industry and commerce has been greatly accelerated apparently by the policy of Bela Kun in selecting many "intellectuals" for heads of departments.

These intellectuals are bourgeois men and women, experts in their particular line, who had supported the cause of Communism before the revolution, or after the revolution had signified their willingness to help in establishing Communism on a firm basis. The questions of Communist policy towards such intellectuals was put to a vote of the Party after thorough discussion at Party conferences. Some members were of opinion that no "intellectuals" could be trusted but the great majority decided that as the intellectuals had never had an opportunity to practice the Communist system they should be encouraged to work for it and could be "trusted." The head of the Co-operative Societies was selected as food commissary, a young engineer was put in charge of the socialization of factories, and a young philosopher was made commissary for schools. Every useful man willing to work with the Communist government was given a place in it.

The first step in the socialization of industry was the control of production by the workers through the organization of individual factory-control councils. These factory-control Councils in turn elect the Production Trade Councils on which each factory in the industry is represented. The Production Trade Councils elect members to the Federal Control Council which consists of representatives of all the trades and industries, and which work directly with the Commissary for Social Production. The owner of the factory generally becomes its manager under the supervision of the workmen's council, but he can also be elected by the workmen to the council. Every effort is being made to run the largest factories to full capacity, while the smaller ones are shut down. The laboratory and research work of invention and improvement has been centralized and the results disseminated to all factories alike. All orders for contracts go through the Commissary's office, to be apportioned to the factory best fitted to fill the contracts, and as no patents or trade secrets are allowed, every factory has the latest improvements.

The second step in the socialization of industry, was the control of the purchasing power of wealthy people. The Communists argued that, there being a limited supply of clothing, etc. in the country, and as the proletarians suffered the most from the lack of necessities, it was unfair to allow those who happen to possess wealth to buy up the small supply. They therefore limited the amount of money which could be drawn from an account in the socialized bank to the wage which the highest paid manual labourer is able to earn. If at the time of the second revolution in Hungary a person had money in one of the banks since taken over by the government, the individual was credited with the amount up to the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, (considered the amount an industrious workman might possibly be able to save in a lifetime), but he or she would not be allowed to draw more than two thousand crowns a month. If the wealth of the individual consisted in merchandise, the value of the merchandise was credited to the amount specified in the socialized bank. This the Communists consider fair to the bourgeois, until he adjusts himself to the new order and finds some useful employment. Having limited the amount of money at the disposal of the bourgeois, the government went further and required a written statement from the control-council of his district that the goods desired were needed "A man with two overcoats should not be allowed to buy another until every workman possesses at least one overcoat," remarked the Commissary for Social Production. Following up this process of reasoning, the People's Commissary has classified the goods in the order of the people's greatest need and is now concentrating on the sale of shoes so much needed by the Army.

The housing problem was studied by the same method. Commissary Somlo found that of the two hundred thousand proletarians in Budapest, one half was living in misery. In two months he has been able to place twenty-one thousand persons in rooms, allowing one room each person, with maximum of four rooms for a family. This he considers a purely temporary makeshift, as it is hoped to have raw materials of some sort to build new houses for the workmen. All licensed houses of prostitution have been abolished in Budapest according to Mr. Somlo, and the houses in twenty-eight towns and villages near Budapest have already been socialized. Specialists, such as doctors, dentists, writers, and artists, are generally allowed by vote of the local Soviet, two rooms a piece, as it is considered necessary to their work, which is a valuable contribution to the community.

Women did not apparently take a very large part in the Communist revolution, though Bela Kun gives much credit to several individual women. Most of the women in public life in Budapest have worked for the feminist movement, and are not found among the Leaders in the present Communist Government. Most of the women now working with the Communists were pacifists who had opposed the war against the Allies.

The schools have of course been socialized and the women teachers have been put on the highest paid wage-scale by the Commissary of Education. The study of law has been stopped in the university, as it is considered a relic of Capitalism, and the law school building has been turned into a people's university to which students are admitted on the recommendation of their trade unions. All students are automatically members of the teachers' trade unions, and can have a voice in the councils of these unions, and each school has its students' disciplinary tribunals, elected by the students and constituting a veritable Students' Soviet in the schools.

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DUBB DIALOGUES.

By L. A. MOTLER.

Part II.

Characters: Same as Last. *Scene*: Ditto.

SOCLASHATELIST: As I was saying last week, when you interrupted me, the capitalist having more goods than he can sell in the home and foreign European markets, goes to Africa, China and other places. The world does not consist of British capitalists merely, so we have French, German, American and Italian capitalists competing with him. In order to reserve foreign markets outside Europe for themselves, the capitalists of each nation urge their Governments to annex certain territories. That is how we have colonial possessions.

HENRY DUBB: Go on. That's as plain as the nose on your face.

SOC.: I wish you would not be so personal. But to proceed. As I said, commodities are all the time being produced faster than the capitalist can sell them. We have, therefore, over-production, as we Marxists call it. Now what does that lead to?

HENRY: With Mr. Capitalist having more goods on his hands than what he can sell, as you said.

SOC.: Exactly! We have also unemployment and ——

HENRY: Half a mo. How do you make that out?

SOC.: I thought that was pretty obvious. There being more commodities than can be sold, production is slowed down, either by lock-outs or by working short time, or even by strikes.

HENRY: Lock-outs I agree to, but not strikes. Those are usually because some of the young hot heads persuades the worker that he ain't getting enough money and that he is robbed by the capitalists. Exploited, I think you Socialists calls it.

SOC.: That is how it would appear to you, of course, not having read Marx—

HENRY: Well, what if I haven't? You needn't crow so much about it. And anyway, as you said. I wish you wouldn't be so thundering personal.

SOC.: I am merely stating the fact. Strikes can be caused by capitalists either knocking wages down, or by putting up prices. It is the same thing in the end. The worker in any case stops making commodities ——

HENRY: Why not say "goods" and have done with it?

SOC.: That is how Marx puts it.

HENRY: Well, it isn't the author this time. I am glad to see he has more sense.

SOC.: To resume. As I have shown over-production can be lessened by those means as I have described. But it cannot last for ever. It is like a snowball going downhill, getting bigger as it goes on. In the end we have a fierce scramble for markets between the capitalists of various nations. This leads ultimately to war.

HENRY: What about Belgium?

SOC.: Well, what about it? That is merely an incident in a war, and wars are waged by military men who say that "military necessity knows no law." And if you talk about Belgium, what about Salonica and the seizure of the Greek fleet? And what about the Dutch fleet, too?? The idea of a military Power is to smash the enemy as quickly as it can and by any means it can.

HENRY: Well, you can't deny as what Marx was a German.

SOC.: That is beside the point. If a man told you that your house was on fire, you wouldn't stop to ask whether he was a German, a Serbian, or a Seventh Day Adventist. A fact is quite independent of the nationality of a man who can prove it. When a German adds two and two together he makes four just the same as you do.

HENRY: All right. We won't quarrel about that.

SOC.: Now, to go back on the theory of surplus value as expounded by Karl Marx. This is not to be confused with the theory of the concentration of capital, which is differentiated by ——

HENRY:— I wish the author of this here Dialogue could make you speak a bit plainer. You will be hurting your jaw next.

SOC.: Am I to take that as a threat?

HENRY: Oh, nunno! I'm just telling you that if you wants anyone to take you to the horspital it won't be me.

SOC.: I am merely explaining the theories of Marx to you in his own language. The author of this Dialogue has nothing to do with it. Indeed, I shudder to think of his hands profaning the eternal truths of "Das Kapital."

HENRY: From the way you talk, one would think it was a kind of Bible.

SOC.: That is hardly the way to argue. Marx is above such puny criticisms. They do not destroy the verities of his propounding. I have already said that overproduction leads not only to unemployment, strikes, and lock-outs, but also to wars. But this is not all. By his deductive, logical reasoning Marx proves that all this must inevitably lead to the collapse of capitalism and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth, based on the socialising of the means of production, distribution, and exchange.

HENRY: Prove it.

SOC.: Very well. As commodities tend to be overproduced and as markets get fewer and fewer, the capitalists find that they are at the end of their markets. Not being able to dispose of their commodities anywhere, the whole edifice of capital comes crashing down.

HENRY: What a great thing it must be to be able to talk like that! Not that I have any prejudice agin you or Marx, but if they was wrote in language a bit plainer, I don't say as what I wouldn't read 'em.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

AUGUST 11TH.—Sir H. Greenwood stated that it is now proposed to create an international economic council to consult on economic matters. Does this mean pooling the raw materials and food of the world?

KOLTCHAK.

AUGUST 12TH.—It appears that Koltchak is not so sure of being recognised now that he has had reverses

POLICE STRIKE.

The number of metropolitan police officers dismissed as a result of the strike was 1,082.

THE MAN!

AUGUST 13TH.—Mr. Bonar Law announced that pending the appointment of a permanent Ambassador to the United States, Lord Grey of Falloden would go to Washington on a special mission. Asked whether Lord Grey should not be asked to be Ambassador, Mr. Law said the Government would have been only "too glad" if he could have accepted. How times do change!

HOUSING.

AUGUST 14TH.—In Glasgow there are 1,627 demobilised soldiers without suitable housing accommodation.

PROFITEERING.

Sir Auckland Geddes moved the second reading of a Bill to check profiteering on August 11th. In the words of the Bill: "To profiteer is to make unreasonably large profit, all the circumstances of the case being considered, by the sale to one's fellow-citizens of an article which is one or one of a kind of common use by or for the majority of the population." The Bill was further debated on August 13th and 14th, and finally passed after much criticism. This measure may prove to the people that the Government has no mercy for the profiteer; at the same time, however, it is clear that the real culprit will go scot free. What is a fine of £50 when a big deal is being undertaken! But for the small trader it may mean ruin. The profiteer must be established as one before the public get any information; the tribunal will decide just as in the case of the conscientious objectors. It is only too well known how strangely "justice" was meted out to the C.O. Will it be otherwise now?

THOSE SLAVES!

AUGUST 15TH.—Mr. Barnes disclosed the magnanimity of the League of Nations towards the Eastern peoples. He stated that Indian organised labour will be invited to attend the Labour Conference in October; but if there is *no* "organised" labour, then the Indian Government will select representatives!

M. O'C.

ABOUT THE YORKSHIRE COAL STRIKE.

Anyone taking notice of the gutter Press would come to the conclusion that the Yorkshire miners were scrapping for a mere point or two per cent., but any man who does a little thinking will readily see that this fight has been forced on us by the Government by mis-interpreting the "Sankey award" in connection with the shorter hours, and the adjustment of piece-rates according. The report of the Sankey Commission laid it down that each district should negotiate and fix its own increase in the piece-rates to meet the shorter working day, subject to the approval of the Coal Controller.

The coal owners of both South and West Yorkshire came to an agreement; the agreement was for 14.3 per cent. increase and the maintenance of all local customs. At the last moment the Coal Controller stepped in and told the owners of West Yorkshire that they had given *too much*, and he fixed the rate at 10 per cent. They then asked the Yorkshire Miners' Association leaders to confer on that issue. Our leaders naturally declined, and pointed out that they did not require the interference of a third party, seeing that they had already agreed. They asked again for a conference to negotiate, and this time our leaders attended, but were simply met by an offer of 12½ per cent., and a cut and dried case, the coal owners producing five sheets of closely written foolscap in support of the Coal Controller's recommendation. Our leaders found out they had been fooled; it was a case of take it or leave it, and the President of the Y.M.A., H. Smith, drew the admittance from them that the five sheets of foolscap had been prepared the day before. Our leaders came away and referred the case back to the rank and file. At this juncture the South Yorkshire owners told our leaders to ratify the South Yorkshire agreement within 24 hours or the terms would be withdrawn. The move was, of course, to lock out West Yorkshire and keep South Yorkshire on working. That issue was brought back to all branches by the delegates, but almost to a man in the south they decided to stand or fall by West Yorkshire. The county downed tools. After several abortive meetings in the county the Government prevailed on the Miners' Federation of Great Britain Executive to meet them; out of that we got the Government formula manipulated by the master of camouflage, Lloyd George. The Government arrived at its figures by calculating on a reduction of 8 hours to 7, and a 10 per cent. decrease in output. The difference between our case and the Government's is that our leaders arrive at their figures by calculating on the actual time of working where piece-rates are concerned. It is well known that having the 8 hour day in Yorkshire, yet the actual working time, taken on the average, in which the piece workers earned their wages was 6 hours. Consequently the Government formula not being applied to actual working conditions means a substantial reduction in the piece workers' wages. It also robs us of all local customs, such as the short shift on Saturday morning and Sunday night. From an intelligent worker's standpoint, the motives underlying the present dispute, which we contend has been deliberately forced on us by the coal owners and the Government, are motives which are being directed against the main plank in the miners' programme.

Certain incidents appear to define the attitude of the powers that be. For instance, when they tried to tie the hands of the miners to be quiet for 3 months on condition of suspending the 6/- per ton impost. When that was turned down the impost immediately went on. Also the plain statement that the Government will not adopt nationalisation, in spite of the finding of the Sankey Commission. The Government has attacked at the moment it thought action by the Triple Alliance was impending, with disorganisation as the objective. At the same time, and prior to the strike, we are aware of the tremendous Press campaign carried on against nationalisation, also the stumping of the country by that party of trade union scabs and renegades, i.e., the National Democrats (British Workers' League) with the same object. Our President, H. Smith, has toured the county and has put the position before the men; he claims, and is prepared to prove, that we are not departing from the findings of the Commission. In spite of the fact that the men are being told that it is a county fight they are asking on all sides why the Federation machine has not been put into operation.

Naturally we look upon that as a hopeful sign of the solidarity of the worker manifesting itself through their minds, and feeling that an injury to one is an injury to all. The only reason we can see for the withholding of Federation action is that the Executive power is controlled by re-actionaries of the type of Brace, Edwards, Walsh and Richards. This plainly shows that if the workers want action they must move themselves. The crying need of the miners is a Mining Industrial Union composed of all workers in and about the mines, irrespective of trade or craft, with the abolition of capitalism as its objective and the institution of a Workers' Republic in its place.

J. G.

TIGHT BINDING.

ABOUT INTERVENTION.

ITALY'S SHARE IN THE INTERVENTION.

The head of the Italian Military Mission at Budapest, Colonel Romanelli, published on August 3rd the following appeal to the population:—

"In my quality of sole representative of the Entente in this country I desire that the inhabitants of Budapest and of the whole country should keep order and strictly obey the decrees of the present Government [this was before the Archduke came on the scene] so that life and property may be fully protected. I order everyone to abstain from all party hatred (*sic!*) and intolerance, so as not uselessly to complicate the work, already sufficiently difficult, of those on whose shoulders at this moment falls the responsibility for the affairs of the State. . ."

This, as *Avanti!* justly remarks, affords an ironical comment on the statement made at the time of the International Strike in Italy by the Italian Premier, Sig. Nitti, that in future Italy would in no way interfere in the internal affairs of Russia and Hungary.

Avanti!, August 10th, 1919, reported a debate in the Italian Parliament. Replying to a question by a Socialist Member, Musatti, concerning the loading of a certain vessel, Nitti, the Italian Premier, said that the ship did not contain war material destined for use against Russia, but only material of various kinds which was to be made into pots and pans and sent to China (laughter). He repeated that Italy would not intervene *in any way* against the Governments of Russia and Hungary.

Musatti replied: "I am glad to hear that instruments of warfare are to be melted down and made into articles for domestic use! I wish indeed that they could all be thus destroyed and transformed. Sig. Nitti says that arms and munitions are being sent only to our Colonies. I wish I could believe him. You have already had the proofs.

"You state that you are not interfering in Russia and that you are recalling the small detachments which are still in that country. And yet at the same time families are still getting the sad news of the deaths of their dear ones fighting in Russia. You say, too, that you are not interfering in Hungary, and yet the papers are even now telling us of the part played by the Italian Military Mission* at Budapest in the strange doings of that Entente which fought this glorious war for the liberty of all peoples, and which is now busily engaged putting the House of Habsburg back on the throne of Hungary."

* This refers to the haughty manifesto of Colonel Romanelli.

ROUMANIAN SOCIALISTS' PROTEST.

The group of Roumanian Socialists at Paris, moved by the communications in the Press concerning a new offensive directed against the Hungarian Republic, in which the Roumanian army is playing the chief part, protests energetically against this intervention which nothing can justify, seeing that Roumanian imperialism is already occupying and oppressing the territories it coveted. The real object of the Roumanian oligarchs is to crush the Hungarian Revolution. The Roumanian people themselves are filled with an intense hatred for Roumanian militarism. Neither the Czecho-Slovaks, the Jugo-Slavs nor even the Serbs and Poles wish to take part in this offensive; only the adventurers, speculators and mercenaries.—*La Vie Ouvrière*, August 6th.

KEEPING ORDER IN EUROPE!

"The Archduke Joseph's Government, if it lasts, will perhaps punish the authors of the Soviet abominations. In our opinion it will be quite justified in doing so. We should have to stop talking of justice in this world of ours if the terrorists, who have made so many victims and perpetrated so many horrors, got off scot free. *They deserve to be quartered.* It would not be a question of "reaction" or "white terror" but of pure and simple justice. We shall only succeed in destroying the Bolshevist monster by making examples. The civilised world must make use of its legitimate right to self-defence."

—M. GAUVAIN in the *Journal des Debats.*

THE INTERNATIONAL — FOR WAR AGAINST BOLSHEVISM.

The correspondent of the *Petit Parisien* at Amsterdam has interviewed the new President of what is called the Trade Union International.

To the question, "And what of the Bolsheviks?" Appleton made this joyful reply:—

"The Bolsheviks? Well, in my opinion there is no place either in the International or the world for Bolsheviks."

Promising, is it not, this International of Nationalists?

But there are certain people here in full agreement with Appleton. I refer to those who are responsible for the *Bataille* [Official Organ, editor Jouhaux, of the C.G.T.] Have they not just opened their columns to the notorious Alexinsky, one of Koltchak's representatives in France.

On Saturday, under the headline, three columns wide, of "Letter from a Russian Comrade to French Socialists and Syndicalists," *La Bataille* published a long article from the pen of this individual. It ended with this supplication:—

"We ask you not to hinder us in our struggle against Bolshevism, which will shortly be conquered by the popular armies hemming it in on all sides."

The popular armies of Koltchak, Denikin and Yudenitch! Do not let us hinder them! Let us continue to allow our rulers to supply them with tanks, guns and poison gas!

Are you astonished, after this, that the resolutions of the C.G.T. against intervention in Russia ended in a retreat like that of July 21st?

La Vie Ouvriere, August 6th.

THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL.

Avanti! of August 4th calls attention to the fact that amongst the delegates present at the Conference of the Second International at Lucerne is Professor Gruesbevsky, ex-President of the Ukraine Rada, who never was a Socialist, but who went to Brest-Litovsk to make a separate peace with Germans, at the same time asking for their help against the Bolsheviks.

DENIKIN AND THE CAUCASIAN REPUBLICS

From the *Secolo* (Milan) of August 1st:—

"Denikin's army is largely composed of Don Cossacks who, without being exactly anti-Bolsheviks, did not wish to adhere to Bolshevism and had consequently retired into their own regions. The Cossacks being nearly all soldiers in the cavalry seek food for themselves and their horses. For this they feel the need for a large territory and Denikin always found it easier to advance towards the south than to fight the Bolsheviks. The threatened Caucasian Republics formed a defensive league and made a protest to the Paris Conference; it was England alone—one does not see exactly why—who busied herself with establishing a frontier which left the Petrovsk-Vladikavkaz railway entirely in Denikin's hands. The Georgians had to abandon the district of Gagny and the Cossacks, in order to open a route to the north, succeeded in taking Kharkov. This success is, however, of little account, for an army of cavalry may advance rapidly without assuring the occupation of the country behind it. People who understand the Cossack psychology state that it is with an ill will that they fight outside their own country. They suffer from a strange home-sickness which demoralises them and makes them liable to disobey orders. It often happens that their chiefs are obliged to lead them back to their natives steppes if they want to preserve any authority over them at all. Moreover, their conduct is such that peasant revolts may always be expected in their rear. For these reasons, if we are not mistaken, Denikin will again have to retire to the south rather than attempt to march on Moscow; that is to say he will be more of a menace to the Caucasian democracies than to Bolshevism."

WORKERS AWAKENING.

The employees of H.M. Office of Works, at a Memorial Hall meeting on August 9th, passed a resolution that the time has now arrived when the whole of the workers employed by the Office of Works should be taken over and employed direct by H.M.O.W., dispensing with the contractors altogether, as we believe it would be not only beneficial to the individual but to the community as a whole, and by so doing would effect a considerable saving in the nation's expenditure, and further that a deputation be appointed to lay the matter before the First Commissioner of Works, Sir Alfred Mond, and that Sir Alfred be asked to receive a deputation at his earliest convenience.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

Classified advertisements: One penny per word
Displayed advertisements: 7s. 6d. per inch.
Pre-pay and send to Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d.—Malthusian League, 48, Broadway, Westminster

Why not Unemployment Benefit for ALL Children until they are strong enough to work and old enough to vote? (Advert.)

HOLIDAY CAMP, Newdigate, Surrey, for health holidays. Good food, and beautiful scenery. 30/- per week inclusive. Vacancies from August 17th. Send stamp for particulars.

READ
"THE RED DAWN," a Monthly Magazine for Young Workers. Monthly, TWOPENCE.

YOUNG COUPLE require 3 unfurnished rooms, usual convenience, no children, good ref., N.W. or S.W. prefered, D. Page, 3, Portland St. Walworth, S.E.

Join in the Campaign for General Election
Will all those who disapprove of the present Government and believe that it is not representative of the People, please communicate. All offers of help, Speakers, Canvassers, etc. and funds for campaign to be sent to Mrs. WARWICK BALL, 22 Maude Rd. Camberwell, London, S.E. 5

A REBEL RALLY
Under the auspices of the I.W.W. will be held at
Riggs' Retreat, High Beach,
on 24th August.
Meet on the Green at 1 o'clock, Tea 5.30
Dancing in the Evening. Tickets 1/6
From E. MINEHAN, 122, Cannhall Rd., Leytonstone, E. 11.

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

Membership open to all Men and Women. Subscription 4d. per month, 4s. per annum. Write to the Secretary, 400, Old Ford Road, London, E.3. Telephone—East 1787.

LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

These are meetings to protest against Intervention in Russia.

SATURDAY, AUG. 23rd.
Cobden Statue, near Mornington Crescent Tube Station. 7 p.m., Minnie Birch, Ph. Edmunds, J. W. Kennedy, Mrs. Walker.

SUNDAY, AUG. 24th,
Osborn St., Whitechapel — 11.45 a.m., G. C. Bhaduri.
Dock Gates, Poplar—7.30 p.m., Arthur Field, J. H. Moore, Chair: Mrs. Walker.

SATURDAY, AUG. 30th.
Outside Jones' Bros., Holloway Road, 7 p.m.

INDOOR.

MONDAY, AUG. 25th.
20, Railway St. 7.30 p.m., — Poplar W.S.F. Business meeting.
" " " 8.30 p.m. Reading Circle

FRIDAY, AUG. 29th.
400, Old Ford Rd.—7.10 p.m. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

TUESDAY, AUG. 26th.
Walthamstow League of Rights, William Morris Hall, Somers Rd.—3 p.m. Mrs. Fix East London Workers' Committee.

SUNDAY, AUG. 24th.
Victoria Park, 12 (noon) Walter Ponder and others.

TUESDAY, AUG. 26th.
Queen's Road, corner of Dalston Lane, 7.30 p.m., Walter Ponder and others.

THURSDAY, AUG. 2 st.
400, Old Ford Rd.—7.30 p.m., Business meeting.

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